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Books

L'Italia nella politica estera della Romania di Ceausescu. I documenti degli archivi nazionali di Bucarest (1965-1989), Nuova Cultura, Sapienza Press, Rome, 2018

Stanley Hoffmann e il dilemma della guerra fredda, Nuova Cultura, Sapienza Press, Rome, 2015

Dalla Polis greca all'E-democracy. La comunicazione politica dalle origini alla società globalizzata, Nuova Cultura, Sapienza Press, Rome, 2014

ELENA BACALOGLU AND THE *MANIFESTO NAZIONALE FASCISTA ITALO-ROMENO*: ANALYSIS OF UNCONSIDERED RELATIONS IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Abstract

This contribution aims at rediscovering a truly original figure of intellectual and trait d'union between Romanian and Italian culture sensibility during the interwar period. Elena Bacaloglu, born in Bucharest in 1878, moved to Italy in 1906. Here she began to frequent Benito Mussolini, founder of the Fascist Party and the most popular artistic and literary environment of the time, maturing her political-literary interest for the Italian fascist movement. The goal is to analyze the idea of patriotism of the most important literary work by Elena Bacaloglu *The Italian-Romanian Fascist National Manifesto: Creation and Government*. Written in a perfect Italian, the work is presented as the manifesto around which Romanian people should have tightened up to enhance the common cultural roots with Italy, trying to propose an ideological model extremely similar to the Italian fascist movement.

Keywords: Italian-Romanian National Fascio; Fascism; Italy; Romania; interwar period; Elena Bacaloglu; Literature; Mysticism; History; Fascist Women.

1. Foreword: An Idea of Patriotism in Elena Bacaloglu before the First World War and the work *Il Manifesto nazionale Fascista italo-romeno*

The idea of patriotism for Elena Bacaloglu is essentially linked to two elements: the figure of King Charles I of Romania and the conquest of Transylvania by the Old Romanian Kingdom characterized by Wallachia and Moldova. This concept emerges above all in the book *Per la Grande Romania* which acts as a prologue to *Il Manifesto nazionale Fascista italo-romeno* in 1923.

In the book *Per la Grande Romania*, dated 1914, the writer affirms that it is necessary that Romania becomes great, then great materially as it is great spiritually and according to the image of the King that is above all a practical man, a professional man of ideality.¹

King Charles I died in 1914 and this book was written by Elena Bacaloglu in the occasion of the King's death. What Immanuel Kant defined ideal with King Charles I became fact: with his reign was born a independent and united Romania built on the ideal of national soul to collect the breath of Romanians living everywhere.²

The death of the King seems to the writer a magnificent apotheosis of a great artist who disappears before the twilight.³ King Charles I before being a great leader was a *superman* but not the superman of Nietzsche even if he was German of origin and therefore by nature directed to be an intellectual who through the brute and absolute brain force bases his existence on the megalomaniac faith of a race that wants to build their own empire and dominate the world. In the opinion of the Romanian writer, however, this unilateral and consequently partial subjective superman of Nietzsche is rather an incomplete God and so destined to fall. The King Charles of Romania is not a superman in the Nietzschean sense, but more accurately he represents what good and beautiful and great the Hohenzollern lineage could have operated.⁴

According to Bacaloglu, he with his greatness rehabilitated his German family also because – this was not known in Italy, she said – the King was half of German origin and half of French origin.

The mother of his father was Princess Antonia Maria daughter of King of Naples Gioacchino Murat's brother, and the mother of our King, Princess Giuseppina was daughter of the Grand Duchess Stefania De Beauharnais adopted daughter of Napoleon I. Grandson, therefore, of two French princesses then add that the mother of the King of Belgium Albert I (King of heroic and poetic essence together) is the Countess of Flanders sister of King Charles and who received the throne of Romania by Napoleon III who loved her so much that so effectively took the Danubian nation to heart.⁵

Romania represents the Latin civilization on the banks of the Danube and the Black Sea and because of that, also the nation with the burden to contribute to the historical development of Central and Eastern Europe. For this reason, great qualities were required to lead it, above all a methodical, disciplined and balanced force. The *superiority* of King Charles resided

precisely in equilibrium and his wisdom was proverbial and his very high ideality could become positive in practical applications. He was exactly what served to Romania nation, noble but young.⁶

The future King came to Romania with a falsified passport, traveling like any other person who went to Odessa on business to prevent Austrians from blocking and arresting him.

The prince, under these false sheets, traveling in second class, fulfilled the romantic adventurous journey arriving to the Danube in Romania on May 29, 1866. The hospitality was enthusiastic and the new sovereign eager to know all the people went everywhere for the country. After three years of a very difficult government, he returned to Germany to his family; then he met the princess of Wied, the future Carmen Sylva and he married her. The marriage took place in Neuwied. Returning together to Bucharest, the newlyweds were welcomed with indescribable joy. The bells rang out in a relaxed way, and the voice of the celebrating people gave to the joyful clamor the note proper of the popular Latin enthusiasm.⁷

The prince and princess entered their palace, a modest palace compared to what they left in their native places. However they knew how to adapt and love Bucharest and its people. The King was a model husband and an admirable sovereign. The army and the school were his priorities, he created the one and encouraged the other.⁸

In 1877 the war broke out between Russians and Turks, Prince Charles I decided that this was the right time to free Romania from the Turkish yoke and make it an independent nation. "This is perhaps one of the most glorious pages in the history of King Charles and the nation".⁹

In 1877, Romania obtained its independence and the Kingdom of Charles I of Romania was born, "which after fifty years of incessant work made Romania the greatest Balkan power. Militarily, politically and economically, its preponderance over the Eastern countries is evident. It had a stable internal and external balance since the beginning of the European war".¹⁰

The King's greatness was precisely that of using his German origins as a positive influence on the Latin character of the Romanians, guaranteeing national independence and their Latin roots by merging with them. In fact, having to choose between his native homeland, Germany, and the will of the Romanian people to unify, he chose the latter. Here is the priestly

character of King Charles I and his superiority. "He left behind a unique political and moral heritage in the history of the Romanians".¹¹

The process of unification of Romania began in 1912 when King Charles I decided to participate in the Balkan war to avoid the loss of the Dobrogea region, on the border with Bulgaria. This was the first step for the meeting of all the peoples of Romania including Transylvania. "Transylvania has always been the Carpathian nest that has protected the existence of Romanians over the centuries from all invasions".¹² And then – on the eve of the First World War, stated Elena Bacaloglu – "what other war could we want if not that against the Hungarians? The dilemma itself is inexorable. It and not the will of the country has perhaps killed our King. But always this problem will kill or enlarge Romania".¹³

The question of Transylvania is closely linked to the question of religion as a means of political propaganda. "Italy has a duty to know the problem in which so much of the responsibility belongs to the Vatican".¹⁴ The Hungarians in fact used against Romanians a despotic chauvinism by means of religious propaganda.

At the beginning of our life our ethnographic origins are confused with the Romanity (Latinness) of the Church. But the invasions and remoteness of Rome did not allow the normal development of Romanian religious life in relation to its essence and its Roman (Latin) character. In any case, the Eastern Latins managed to operate the miracle of a Romanian church with its own language and customs appropriate to their Latin character, affirming their religious conscience.¹⁵

Leo XIII in 1850 satisfied the desire of the Romanians of Transylvania building the metropolis of Alba Iulia maintaining the ritual and traditions of the Eastern church. Three years later, in 1853, with the *Bull Ecclesia Christi*, Pius IX created the Greek-Catholic united Church of Romania, recognizing the Romanian language as the official language. But the Hungarians imposed their language, publishing liturgical books and rituals in Hungarian, forbidding Romanians the Catholic use of their national language. Thus, through language and religion, Hungarians try to *magyarize* Romanians.¹⁶

All this was subsidized by the Austro-Hungarian government which, with enormous expenses, published liturgical books of the Eastern Church in Hungarian.¹⁷

Hungarians prefer the Greek-Catholic rite because they might thus escape celibacy in the future. The Magyar Greek Catholic diocese must be implemented in order to penetrate the masses and disperse their own ecclesiastical organizations.¹⁸

The idea of Hungarians is to assimilate all nationalities through language and religion and free themselves from the Habsburgs, from Austria, repeating the gesture of 1849.

Hungarians would like to imitate the Roman power that knew how to romanize entire regions. But this wisdom, or more truly this power, is rather the prerogative of those who descend from the Romans: namely Romanians!¹⁹

This is why Transylvania must be conquered, because Romanian people are saved from the *magyarization* pursued by Hungarians.²⁰

We are on the eve of the First World War and Elena Bacaloglu already spoke of Great Romania.

2. Historical Framework

Giovanni Terranova, an Italian journalist and correspondent in Romania during the Fascism, collected in a book entitled *Romania in marcia*, a new reconstruction of Romania of the interwar years and its relations with Italy. In the preface of the volume he states:

hope, in this way, the reader can get an idea of the current Romanian state, fervent of reconstructive activity, as I have seen it. I was lucky enough to see a new, healthy, industrious, axial Romania, as I had not seen before on previous journeys.²¹

It is a realistically Latin and sincerely friendly Romania of the new order established by Mussolini, first of all, and only in second time, by Hitler.

In the same book, the poet Nichifor Crainic, one of the most important exponents of the Romanian thought of the interwar period and director of the magazine *Gândirea*, around which the literary excellences of the era gathered, states:

On your great leader I have had several occasions to write, remembering the impressions I felt directly after each interview. I compare Mussolini to St. Francis of Assisi, because he gives everything to Italy with the same love, with the same passion with which St. Francis gave himself to God.²²

In the interwar period the Romanian intellectual and political class rediscovers its own latinity and tries to get closer to Italian culture. Alexandru Marcu, Dean of the Faculty of Languages of the University of Bucharest, and first teacher of Italian Language and Literature at the same University, in an interview for the *Roma* newspaper, affirms this need for Romanian culture to join Italy to rediscover the identity integrity of its origins. Romania is a miraculous Latin island in a Slavic sea, which has been preserved in the Balkans as proof of Roma imperial greatness. Romania is seen like a Roman island in a non-Roman sea.²³

Cavour himself sensed the cultural, but also geostrategic, importance of Romania, when he stated that

Romanian nationality is a counterweight which, with the advantage of the Porta and with the advantage of Europe, faces the dangerous development of panslavism".²⁴ Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, head of the Iron Guard said in one of his speeches to the people: "the sun rises in Rome and not in Moscow."²⁵

In the twenties with the leadership of Romania by Marshal Alexandru Averescu, considered an enthusiastic admirer of Italy and Mussolini, the cultural relations between the two countries received a remarkable impulse. After the *March on Rome* and the appointment of Mussolini as Head of Government, and the benevolence shown by Romania towards the new Italian government, on the political relations of the two countries loomed the atmosphere of coldness that had followed the Conference of Versailles.

Romania belonged to the Little Entente coalition together with Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, an alliance headed by France. This greatly reduced the political influence of Italy in the Danube-Carpathian region. Moreover, on the relations between Italy and Romania weighed the non-ratification of the 1920 Treaty of Paris, with which Great Britain, France, Japan and Italy recognized the conquest of Bessarabia by the Romanian side in 1918.²⁶

With Mussolini, from the first months of his government, the intention was felt to resolve these issues with Romanian government. Romanian Foreign Minister Ion Duca arrived in Rome in January 1923 to resolve the question of credits so the issue of repayments of some Romanian Treasury bills in possession of Italian citizens and of loans granted by the Italian State and private companies to the Romanian government throughout the war. During the conversation Mussolini and Ion Duca also talked on the need to reach a political agreement between Rome and Bucharest. The first step was the creation of the Italian-Romanian Institute in Rome and the Institute of Italian Culture in Bucharest, inaugurated the following year. The cultural relations between the two countries seemed to follow a parallel path to the attempt to strengthen also political contacts.²⁷

Some attempts to imitate the movement led by Mussolini also occurred in Romania. An Italian-Romanian national fascio was formed by an admirer of Mussolini, Elena Bacaloglu. Indeed, it is in this pro-Italian framework that we can include the literary work of the Romanian writer, which in 1906 moved to Italy.

Elena Bacaloglu was born in Bucharest on December 19, 1878, from a bourgeois family of Turkish origin, established in Wallachia from 1826. Compared to other women from *fin de siècle*, the Romanian writer was highly educated. She obtained a degree from the Faculty of Letters of Bucharest and one from the Collège de France.²⁸ Her interests in studies were for French literature, art history and philosophy. She studied for a period in Paris and here she met her future husband, the poet Ovid Densușianu.²⁹

Really, her first husband was Radu D. Rosetti, a famous lawyer for the Romanian capital and an emerging neo-romantic poet. A daughter was born from their short marriage. In fact, only the year following the celebration of the wedding, Rosetti abandoned them. Elena Bacaloglu attempted suicide by shooting herself in the chest, but she was saved by emergency surgery on her right lung.³⁰ On 7 August 1902 she married Densușianu, an exponent of Romanian symbolism. In 1904, from their union, was born Ovid O. Densușianu Jr. In the same year the marriage was broken and the Romanian writer began to travel to Western Europe, especially in Italy.

Elena Bacaloglu was one of the most important women in Europe to lead the fascist movements of the interwar period.³¹ After her divorce with the poet Ovid Densușianu, she left for Italy. Here she began to frequent Benito Mussolini, founder of the Fascist Party, and the most popular

intellectual class of the time such as Matilde Serao, Roberto Bracco, Ernesto Murolo, Gabriele D'Annunzio and Salvatore Di Giacomo, until she attended the literary salons of Benedetto Croce.³² Here the Romanian writer and journalist gained her political and literary interest for the Italian fascist movement.³³

3. The Manifesto: Creation and Government

Il Manifesto nazionale fascista italo-romeno is the most important literary work³⁴ by Elena Bacaloglu, written in a perfect Italian, it is presented as the manifesto around which Romanian people should have tightened up to enhance the common cultural roots with Italy, trying to propose an ideological model very similar to the Italian fascist movement. The work, developed between 1919 and 1922, takes up the themes addressed by the same author in the works *Preuves d'amour*,³⁵ and *La Romania*, the latter published by the *Eroica House Publishing* from Milan, during the war years, together with Carla Cadorna and the Belgian painter Charles Doudelet, who took care of the drawings of the book.³⁶

The manifesto is divided into three parts:³⁷ the first section is dedicated to the poems for the Duce and to an exchange of letters between the writer and the members of the *Fasci di Combattimento*; the second one is dedicated to the foreign policy of the Italian-Romanian fascist movement, to its creation and development; while the third part is dedicated to the role of women during the years of Fascism and it is linked to the issue of universal suffrage, which also appears among the political points of the *Manifesto dei Fasci di Combattimento*, published on the newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, on June 6, 1919.

The Manifesto is dedicated to Queen Margherita of Savoy, Queen Elena of Italy and Queen Maria of Romania and opens with a poem, in French, by the Romanian writer addressed and dedicated to Benito Mussolini: "Deux temps d'arrêt sur un sol tremble, le sol de l'Europe. Au coeur de l'Italie, nous sommes face à face et en double. Femme et homme, sexe contre sexe. Ame contre âme. Vie contre vie".³⁸

The poem closes with a prayer to God, so that he may hold by hand the man and the woman in their universal mission.³⁹ In this case it emerges the mystical, universal and religious aspect of the fascist movement. An aspect that we also find in the *Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti di tutte le nazioni* by Giovanni Gentile, published on the newspaper *Il Popolo*

d'Italia on April 21, 1925, the day of the birth of Rome, and in which we can read:

Fascism therefore at its origins it was a political and moral movement. Politics felt and advocated as a training of self-denial and sacrifice of the individual to an idea in which the individual can find his reason for life, his freedom and all his rights; idea that is Homeland, as a historical and eternal, idea like historical tradition determined and identified in the conscience of citizen, far from being dead memory of the past, it becomes a purpose to be implemented, therefore tradition and mission.⁴⁰

In the same way in the Manifesto by Elena Bacaloglu, written three years earlier, it comes to light this theme of the sacrifice, the task of man, or Mussolini, and of the woman herself, to carry on in a Europe distraught by war and Versailles Conference, the idea of the fascist movement, which must be not only national, but of a universal and religious nature.⁴¹

And it is on the "religious character" of Fascism that hurted Benedetto Croce, who wrote the *Manifesto degli intellettuali anti-fascisti*, published on *Il mondo* newspaper on May 1, 1925, in which he stated:

The mistreatment of doctrines and history is a minor thing compared to the abuse that is made of the religion word; because, in the sense of the fascist intellectual lords, now in Italy we would be gladdened by a war of religion, by the deeds of a new gospel and a new apostolate against an old superstition, which relapses to death which is above it and to which it must while bending; and they test the hatred and rancor that burn, now as never before, between Italians and Italians.⁴²

In the Italian-Romanian Manifesto, Bacaloglu states that there are three subjects⁴³ whom the world must rely to fulfill the mission to: the woman herself; the peasant, then Duce; the poet, who correspondent to Gabriele D'Annunzio.⁴⁴ Judaism and Bolshevism, by creating an "international camorra"⁴⁵ have turned the tables of European peace favoring France in Eastern Europe and Yugoslav in Italy, betraying the war agreements.⁴⁶

The main difference between the Italian-Romanian Manifesto and the *Fasci di Combattimento* was the question of the Jews. While the manifesto was clearly anti-Semitic, that of the Fasci was originally not.⁴⁷ However, it is useful to underline, to be intellectually honest, that the anti-Semitic agenda of Elena Bacaloglu's movement was "moderate" if

compared to other anti-Semitic movements that were created later, just like the Iron Guard, led by Corneliu Codreanu. The anti-Semitism of the Italian-Romanian Manifesto is rather a populist anti-industrialism, a version of nationalism strongly inspired by the *Action française*.⁴⁸

The Italian-Romanian fascist national movement does not mean only Romania or Italy, but both together and one. It is the first concrete, living, inebriating pillar of a truth that differs from the others and which is not yet well understood: the truth that an Italian-Romanian Empire is the only one that it is possible, admissible, fundamental, for Italy and which is not just a word, but it lives, exists and manifests itself already and overwhelmingly in this movement.⁴⁹ Italy will not be strong except through an Italian-Romanian block, which would embrace an Adriatic, Danube and Balkan policy. Balkans are the main road for the conquest of the world. And Romania, the most civilized country, the only Latin in the Eastern peninsula, which in the past was naturally at the head of the Balkan countries, will have to be re-established in this position and in this function of leverage and equilibrium.⁵⁰

At the same time, Romania will serve itself when it no longer wants to be economically and spiritually, through its politicians, like Take Ionesco,⁵¹ colonized by foreigners, but become *One* with Italy to unify Latinity in its center of Rome and boost universal civilization. The movement has the task of serving the Latin Idea in its absolute and its immortality, fighting on the Romanian, Italian, French soil an international and holy war, and according to Bacaloglu "our volume - this red flower and this ray of sunshine - it may have been one of its purest and most hardened weapons" for the Latin cause.⁵²

These words lead back to the mystical and universal purpose of the fascist movement, the Hegelian Absolute of which man and woman are puppets and whose ultimate goal is pan-Latinism.⁵³ The concept of Latin imperialism, the reference to Rome, are also present in the *Fasci di Combattimento*, whose symbol incorporates the *sheaf emblem* of the Roman Empire.

The objectives of the Italian-Romanian movement, set out in the second part of the *Manifesto*. They are a creation of common national directives and policies in the two countries; to liberate the two countries from economic slavery from abroad through the exchange of research and labor. Italy has a flourishing industry, Romania has the raw materials, if they joined in a fraternal way, as daughters of the same wolf,⁵⁴ would put in check the enemies of Latinity, guided by the greed of Jewish finance.

In this way they could solve the question of Smyrna and Thrace, Albania, Montenegro and Dalmatia, including the issue of Fiume, bringing together all the Latin peoples of the Adriatic and fighting the plutocratic agreements that allowed the realization of the mutilated victory in Italy and the Little Entente in Eastern Europe. And finally, the last aim of the movement is to organize Latin-overseas expansion diplomatically and spiritually, creating an Italo-Romanian empire that involves, therefore, all Italian and Romanian communities abroad.⁵⁵

Then it arises the idea of the use of culture as a means of conquest, as stated by the Duce in an article on *La Tribuna*, on February 4, 1926:

to be implemented through the development and dissemination of ideas by the intellectual class, which has the task of spreading Italian ideas abroad, of Italian culture as an instrument of expansion or conquest, spreading the effectiveness of fascist ideas beyond Italian borders, through a communion of intellectuals.⁵⁶

This is a concept also taken up by Giuseppe Ungaretti, who signed the *Manifesto Gentile*, hoping “an action aimed to reinvigorating the Italian spirit to across the border, to induce foreigners to love our civilization, to make known the work of fascism in a more systematic and less superficial way”.⁵⁷

4. The Woman’s Role in the Fascist Movement

The *Manifesto nazionale Fascista italo-romeno* by Elena Bacaloglu dedicates the third part to the role of women in fascism in particular she attached her report to the IX International Congress for Women’s Suffrage held in Rome on May 14, 1923. The issue of female suffrage was one practical and precise aim of the International Alliance chaired by an American, Miss Chapman Catt, who, through the Congress, in which Elena Bacaloglu also took part, as a representative of the Italian-Romanian fascist movement, asks all the women of Europe to unite to ask for justice and equal rights, through the vote’s right achievement.⁵⁸

And since in Europe only the Latin group does not yet have female suffrage (and this is significant in both the race and the Latin spirit) we take advantage of this instinctive and reasoned hesitation of our Latin men in

our regard, as well as information and illumination that this world Congress offers us to speak *clearly* to speak *loudly* to speak *right*.⁵⁹

According to Elena Bacaloglu, the question of universal suffrage is only one aspect of the woman's movement which is a phenomenon of nature and universe, a movement that is not only historical but also cosmic and religious. It can be individual, collective, national and universal. "When an individual is the expression of a new phenomenon based on the historical instinct of peoples and on that of moral force, this means that this individual possesses all the above-mentioned representative attributes concentrated in himself".⁶⁰ The movement is therefore a synthesis that manifests itself both through this being that represents it and through his soul by means of which it is reflected on the masses. This explains why universal suffrage is only one aspect of the feminine movement, which is a historical and spiritual movement, a *moral* question, and for this reason universal.⁶¹

At the Conference of universal suffrage also participated Benito Mussolini and he presented the right to vote for women as one of the objectives of Fascism. In 1925 a law guaranteed the candidacy for local administration also for women. As Elena Bacaloglu stated in the public announcement of the *IX International Congress Pro feminine suffrage*:

given the originality of creation and its moral force these conquests could be possible only through the very *revolutionary* and *brilliant spirit* of Benito Mussolini, who for his *superior gestures*, he has also established himself, also on the female point of view, as a *forerunner* of the men of the modern age.⁶²

However in a speech on May 26, 1927, Mussolini said that women were responsible of the growth and the power of the nation. Thus he began a pro-nativity policy that led to considering abortion a crime, to impose taxes on bachelorhood, to reward the most prolific mothers, to celebrate mothers and girls and in 1933 to the *Sagra della nunzialità* (Celebration of the Marriage). Thus it emerges a dichotomous view between two types of women during fascism: a militant and progressive woman and a mother woman who is entrusted with the task of the fascist government's greatness and power.⁶³

In 1921 in Milan were born the *Fasci femminili*, led by Elisa Mayer Rizzoli, from Fiume, and by Margherita Sarfatti, a Jewish woman from Venice, a very cultured woman who helped the rise of Mussolini. She is

author of the *Dux* biography of 1925, translated into 18 languages. Among these militant women we remember Ines Donati, from San Severino Marche, nicknamed *La Capitana*, one of the 100 women who participated at the March on Rome and who died of tuberculosis, in 1924, and was buried at the Chapel of fascist Heroes at the Verano cemetery in Rome.⁶⁴

So we have the figure of a *new woman* who coexists with another figure that of the *mother woman*. Elena Bacaloglu declared about it:

the good seed of all the hearts of married mothers who showed themselves in war and were always true patriots of true souls of sincerity. But in general Italians want to see these women solely as a function of love, not also as a function of national and universal life and do not use them socially in this sense, leaving them to act in the shadows or inactive. Too much good energy is lost like this! D'Annunzio, who knows how politically important are women's literary salons, especially in Paris, understood in Fiume the part that could be drawn for the National cause by the virgin and infinite forces of women. And the women of Fiume were the firmer base of its resistance to the Adriatic political foundation ideal.⁶⁵

During the war, the Italian women had taken over the reins of the family and had replaced their husbands, fathers, brothers in their work and to these rights they no longer wanted to give up. Particularly in the wave of nationalism new figures of bourgeois asked for emancipation of women. So the women of Fascism are purely women belonging to the bourgeoisie, therefore women highly educated as Elena Bacaloglu was herself.

In Romania, following the feminist movements led by Dora D'Istria,⁶⁶ Valentina D. Focșa organized in 1919, the *Asociația pentru emanciparea civilă și politică a femeii*, and other women such as Martha Lahovary Bibescu, Alexandrina Contecuzino, leader of *Consiliul Național al Femeilor*, in 1921, led a Feminin Mouvement in Romania asking equal rights in literature and in politics.⁶⁷

But Elena Bacaloglu distrusted this kind of very cultured but artificial women at the service of their men from the political point of view. She said in her manifest:

Certainly Fascism must abhor by the first, the intellectual type of the artificial and immoral woman, and the cultural and sociological deformations of the soul of this woman. But it must learn at the same time to distinguish between the women who carry the intrigues and gossip of her home, outside, on the square, in the newspapers, in books – and those women

(who are much more numerous than what is believed) which without failing to their duties as a mother, and without losing anything of the grace and the poetry of their femininity, they know how to create new forms of life and defend just as much, even more than men, the spiritual values of the Homeland, and of the human race.⁶⁸

Italians will have to renew their mentality and their attitude towards women, because beyond sex, they can give more and represent more. She herself in the female expression of the Manifesto represents the revolution of fascism with regard to women. "For this reason, concluding and summarizing I say that I have the sensation of having been, even unconsciously, the *first fascist woman* of Italy, who first crossed the borders of the peninsula with this fascist spirit".⁶⁹

So the idea of fascism is inherent to National fascist Italian-Romanian movement represented by a woman who is its creator and president and who in herself represents the new woman. A new woman who is far from the cultural clubs "supported by the press, generally formed by many evil persons that move in the shadows to better bite and weave the conspiracy of silence".⁷⁰

"The unconscious or conscious agents of the high Jewish bank or of the military and industrial imperialism of the other great nations are represented by the world in the first place by two ultra-modern means:

a) the wives or lovers - when they are not all at once - of the main statesmen or politicians

b) of all forms of culture, in every country, such as the Press, the Magazines, Institutes and Circuits *self-styled* cultural, artistic, musical, touristic, or of propaganda without forgetting certain associations, including Freemasonry, and its dependencies such as Dante Alighieri, Lega Navale, Colonial Institute, even certain worldly, aristocratic, or literary salons, and so on.

But the reviews *La Donna* and *Coltura e Mondanità* are those that most fruit and will serve the vampires of humanity and the unconscious men in the past and present war. Precisely because they are the means of correction or misleading disguised under the largest and most attractive forces of life that act on the instincts of man and those of the masses: love and spirituality, such as *La Donna* and *Coltura* they are the most direct and powerful forms and expressions".⁷¹

And for these ideas, she affirmed: “I am a person who isolate herself and is isolated for my own visions of healthy values. Or if you want, a kind of spiritual earthquake of which I am practically the first victim”.⁷²

Given her leading by a woman, the Movement revealed itself for what it essentially is, “a double revelation: of Nature as a genius of Sex; and of Spirit as a divinized Humanity to the human God”.⁷³ So,

Il Manifesto nazionale fascista italo-romeno embraces all the issues of Italian fascism, but in double. The importance is greater, and it gives the original Fascio a vast breath, multiplying by hundred its strength. It should be the double Fascio of a single action. Or the same action, in two countries, for the same objective: to save the Latin civilization.⁷⁴

And she concluded “Romania will have to end up being – because, substantially, it is – Eastern Italy”.⁷⁵

5. Recongnition and Negation of Elena Bacaloglu’s Work

The Italian-Romanian National Movement was established in Cluj, on September 24, 1921, at the University of the city.⁷⁶ The rector of the University and other professors from Romanian universities and distinguished members of the Romanian Academy took part in the movement.⁷⁷

The constitution stated: “The movement is born as a movement above the parties, based on the creation of a healthy current of ideas and spiritual elevation, on an economic and cultural activity,⁷⁸ with an exclusively national-patriotic character”.⁷⁹ The manifesto thus presents itself as a national directive in the two countries based “on a strict control and education of the upper classes, as the popular masses”,⁸⁰ through the instrument of cultural propaganda.

In Italy the Italian-Romanian movement was inaugurated on 21 April, on Rome’s birthday,⁸¹ at the Campidoglio, at the presence of Elena Bacaloglu, Pietro Bolzon, president of the *Arditi* Association, Mario Angiolini, member of the *Fasci di Combattimento* and Giuseppe Bottai, president of the Press Association. In the deed of incorporation we read:

The Italian Fascist and Arditi Italo-Romanian Movement addresses an appeal in which it is said among other things: at the Convention of the

Fasci di Combattimento and the *Arditi*, in the capital city of Italy, the day of the foundation of Rome, the Italian-Romanian national fascist movement brings its deep meaning with its greeting and its participation. Created since 1917, as one of the first civil and political manifestations of new Italy and of great Romania, this movement on the eve of new Italian legislature, has in itself the throbbing of our great deaths, and the iron will of the resurrection and defense of all the values. At the same time, the avant-garde of true life represents the two nations united in the Christmas of Rome, and in the name of the youths. It is for the first time in their national history that Italy and Romania meet in the ancient spring and in the advent of their sublime lives, to consecrate this inevitable fusion, and to swear on the Campidoglio their common faith.⁸²

The prime minister Paolo Boselli granted Romanian writer the opportunity to hold conferences on the topic in thirty Italian villas, starting from Rome, where the mayor Prospero Colonna granted her the aristocratic Argentine Theatre. Benedetto Croce and Salvatore Di Giacomo⁸³ sent letters to *Treves*, an important publishing house in Milan, to ensure the publication of the work of Mrs. Bacaloglu *La Roumanie*, a work that first crossed the borders of the peninsula with the fascist spirit, even in the French language, given the success that the work had in Italian.⁸⁴ The Minister of Education Baccelli also granted her a loan of 4000 lire for the publication of the second edition of *La Romania*, in Italian, "being a good propaganda book to increasingly tighten the traditional relationship between Italy and Romania to whom she has dedicated tireless activity and faith for twelve years".⁸⁵

Baccelli also turned to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to grant also from them a contribution to the book of the Romanian writer, for "the high patriotic end which aims to facilitate our traditional good relations with Romania (...) since it is of great importance, also for the start-up of our businesses, to create closer ties with the Romanian nation".⁸⁶ In 1918, the Minister of Education, Agostino Berenini, in homage to the literary and artistic activity of the Romanian writer to the advantage of the two Latin nations, Romania and Italy, granted to Bacaloglu's son, Ovidio Densușianu Jr., a free accommodation at the Naples national boarding school for the entire duration of the secondary education.⁸⁷

Despite these initial acknowledgments of the literary and political work of Elena Bacaloglu, her movement did not succeed with her compatriots. Romanian government forbade her to approach Romanian citizens in Italy

and to make political propaganda in Romania. In fact, as she reported, Luigi Federzoni wrote in a letter dated on 6 August 1920 to the Romanian Prime Minister and to the Foreign Minister to

know if they can say the reason why eminent Romanian writer Elena Bacaloglu, a person of high respectability, for many years faithful and generous advocate of a firm friendship between her homeland and Italy, was arrested on the morning of 28 July a few hours before the arrival in Rome of a delegation of professors and students of her country.⁸⁸

The episode was repeated in Genoa, where the writer escaped “with her protector general Cadorna”⁸⁹ when the military disaster of Caporetto took place.⁹⁰ Here she was housed in an apartment of the Fascio Party in Genoa,⁹¹ continuing her work of propaganda of the Italian-Romanian movement, whose goal was to create “the natural way out of Italy to weigh on the East”.⁹²

In Genoa she also tried to be received by the Romanian Prime Minister Brătianu, on an official visit in Italy, but a few hours before the meeting

Mrs. Bacaloglu just got off a tram in piazza Corvetto, was approached by two public security officers, who invited her with a pretext to follow them to the police station (...), where she was interrogated for long hours (...) Meanwhile, having been so detained, Mrs. Bacaloglu could not go to the interview with Brătianu.⁹³

The police headquarters in Genoa intervened following a complaint by the Romanian delegation asking for the internment of the writer in a nursing home and her removal from Italy.⁹⁴

After this episode Romanian writer remained alone with her ideas of propaganda of the Italian-Romanian fascist movement, as she herself denounced in her manifesto:

I had here, and on this occasion, the perfect vision of the fascist force, but also of its, how will I say? Youth unconsciousness. It is not only a lack of preparation for foreign policy that is the characteristic (explainable by the way) of Italian people including the ruling class, but it is that *moral immaturity* so harmful in the serious moments, which struck me once more on this occasion.⁹⁵

In the paragraph of her work entitled *La rivoluzione mondiale e la donna*, Elena Bacaloglu wrote in a fragment addressed to Benito Mussolini:

You yourself unwillingly spiritually loved and fought me, defended and betrayed, what was the maximum of success, of *neutralization* of evil forces with the good, that my irrepressible soul could get from you in the midst of so much hostility that came to us *both* on all sides. A maximum of success, apparently passive, but that corresponded with our maximum, *imperial* political program. And it was enough in the past that at least the Roman imperial Idea *lived* – so that the Idea could be realized. It was enough that I did not die or did not erase from your spirit and heart (or from the crime of suicide of the Italians themselves, expelled or murdered) so that the very idea of this *Movement* was confirmed and consecrated, in me accomplished before of the effective Italian Force, of the only Roman Imperialism, *historical, logical, natural* that forms and *is inherently* formed, realistically by the *Eastern Italian-Romanian Empire*.⁹⁶

In 1923, the younger brother of Elena Bacaloglu, Alexandru, known as Sandi Bacaloglu attacked the staff of Adevărul, killing the Jewish director Iacob Rosenthal, guilty of having published articles defamatory against his sister.⁹⁷ The Fascia Națională Română Party (FNR), founded in 1922 and led by Titus Vișor, and which collected most of the members of Bacaloglu's movement, distanced itself from the act, stating that Sandi Bacaloglu, like her sister's movement, they were not recognized by the Romanian nation as fascists.⁹⁸

Sandi Bacaloglu wrote to Mussolini a letter in French language, dated on 13 November 1922, in which he said that the Duce was just people of Italy and Europe needed:

Quand le monde étais plongé dans le désespoir, vous êtes apparu pour reveiller le courage de tous. Vous avez mis en lumière les vérités qui se cachaient, et donné eur emplois à toutes le bravoures. Vous ressuscitez en vous tous ceux qui son morts pour l'Italie (...) Garibaldi et Cavour vous donnet l'accolade. (...) Permettez de vous présenter mon admiration et mon respect que ma soeur vous les portera à vos pieds.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, Mussolini, after the Adevărul affair and the position took by the official fascist Romanian party, declared Elena Bacaloglu *persona non grata* and she was removed from Italy. When she returned to Romania, she lived the last years of her life in obscurity.¹⁰⁰ During her

stay in Bucharest she wrote several letters to distinguished politicians of the time such as Ion I. C. Brătianu, Savel Rădulescu, Nicolae Titulescu, in which she asked could have financial help because she was in a very serious material situation.¹⁰¹ In a letter addressed to the writer Liviu Rebreanu she asked for 4 million of lei, since he was a member of the Romanian Academy, for her cultural work she had developed during the twenties between Italy and Romania.¹⁰²

On 22 October 1947, she wrote her last letter addressed to the literary historian, Ilie E. Torouțiu, in which she asked him to interface with the Romanian Academy President, Gala Galatacion, to sell her cultural heritage to the Romanian Academy in exchange for money.¹⁰³ She sold all the letters that she received from Italian intellectual class, today kept at the Romanian Academy Library. Eight months later she died.

Despite her excessive personality, sometimes extremely ambitious and self-centered, her ideas for better or for worse anticipated some movements that they then took shape in the interwar period both in Italy and in Romania. The purpose of this contribution is to remove from oblivion this original intellectual figure of a Romanian woman writer and bridge-builder between the Italian-Romanian relations during the interwar period.

NOTES

- 1 E. Bacaloglu, *Per la Grande Romania. Rumeni e Ungheresi in Transilvania*, Il Messaggero Roma, 1914.
- 2 Ivi.
- 3 Ivi.
- 4 Cfr., *ibidem*, p. 7.
- 5 Ivi.
- 6 Cfr., *ibid.*, p. 8.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 20 In this regard, it is interesting to note – as we will see later – Elena Bacaloglu will choose Cluj-Napoca, as the city where to set up the Italian-Romanian National fascist Movement. A Transylvanian city symbolizing Romania's greatness and unity.
- 21 Cfr., Terranova, G., *Romania in Marcia*, Cremonese, Roma, 1941, p. 8.
- 22 *Ibidem*, p. 140.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 26 Cfr., Santoro, S., *L'Italia e l'Europa Orientale. Diplomazia culturale e propaganda 1919-1943*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2005, pp. 107-122.
- 27 Cfr., Santoro, S., "Relazioni italo-romene fra le due guerre mondiali: i documenti di Bucarest", in *Storia e futuro*, 12, November 2006, p. 15.
- 28 Cfr., Nastasă, L., *Intimitatea amfiteatrelor. Ipostaze din viața privată a universitarilor "literari"(1864–1948)*, Editură Limes, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 51.
- 29 Cfr., Calangiu, A., Vatan, M., Negru, M., *Ovid Densușianu 1873-1938. Biobibliografie*, Central University Library, Bucharest, 1991, p. XXI.
- 30 The news is read in the article "Diverse. Din Capitală. Drama din strada Lucăci", in *Epoca*, 18 June, 1898, p. 2, the author of the news is not marked.

31 Cfr., Bucur, M., *Romania*, in Passmore, K. (ed.), *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2003, p. 77.

32 Elena Bacaloglu translated into Romanian *Assunta Spina* by Salvatore Di Giacomo for the magazine *Convorbiri Critice* in the August 1909 edition. The Romanian writer also dedicates to the poet an essay in the French language *Naples et son plus grand poète*, Ed. Consul, Naples 1911. During the national exhibition at Castel Sant'Angelo, Elena Bacaloglu gave a talk on Di Giacomo, reviewed with honors by Alberto Cappelletti on *Il Giorno*.

Cfr., Sallusto, F., *Itinerari epistolari del primo Novecento: lettere e testi inediti dell'archivio di Alberto Cappelletti*, Luigi Pellegrini Editore, Cosenza, 2006, p. 175.

Regarding the relationship between the Romanian writer and Salvatore Di Giacomo, see also the volume edited by Toni Iermano, *Lettere a Elena*, Osanna Edizioni, Venosa, 1998. In which the epistolary exchange between the two writers is carefully collected, giving us an interesting unpublished reconstruction of the relationship between Elena Bacaloglu and the Italian intellectual class of the time.

33 Cfr., Sallusto, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

34 The first literary works of Elena Bacaloglu appeared in 1908. The writer's first novel is of psychological nature and it is titled *În luptă: două forțe*. The work is badly reviewed by Romanian critics. Her first novel is even accused of being unreadable. The review to which we refer is P. N., "Recenzii. Elena Bacaloglu. În luptă", in *Viața Românească*, 4, 1908, pp. 175-176. While the writer's first work in Italian is a monograph on the love story between the Romanian poet Gheorghe Asaki, whose works inspired the development of a national conscience in Romania, and his muse, Italian patriot and writer, Bianca Milesi.

Cfr., Bacaloglu, E., *Bianca Milesi e Giorgio Asaki*, Direzione della Nuova Antologia, 1912, pp. 81-101.

35 Bacaloglu, E., *Preuves d'amour*, Institut des arts graphiques, Bucarest, 1914.

36 Cfr., Bacaloglu, E., *La Romania*, Rivista Eroica, Milano, 1918.

37 The style used is very reminiscent of Giacomo Leopardi's *Lo Zibaldone*, a collection of poems, political ideas and ideological movements kept together in a single manuscript.

38 Cfr., Bacaloglu, E., *Il Manifesto Nazionale fascista italo-romeno: creazione e governo*, Pirola, Milano, 1923, p. 10.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

40 Gentile, G., "Il Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti di tutte le nazioni", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 21 aprile 1925, pp. 9-11, (available on internet: www.maat.it).

41 Cfr., Bacaloglu, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 12.

42 Cfr., Croce, B., "Il Manifesto degli intellettuali antifascisti", in *Il Mondo*, 1 May, 1925, pp. 12-14, (available on internet: www.maat.it).

43 Cfr., Bacaloglu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

44 Just Gabriele D'Annunzio should have been the president of the Italian-Romanian Fascio, as Elena Bacaloglu explains in the manifesto: "As early as June 1919, when greatness and goodness of the Idea moved to propose to the greatest poet of Italy and the greatest Italian of today, Gabriele D'Annunzio, the Presidency, offering him my services and my devotion for the Italian-Romanian cause". Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 67.

45 This word appears often in the Bacaloglu's work. Cfr., *ibid.*, pp. 15, 58, 72.

46 Cfr., Heinen, A., 2006, *Legiunea "Arhanghelul Mihail": o contribuție la problema fascismului internațional*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2006, pp. 102-103.

47 Veiga, F., *La mística del ultranacionalismo. El Movimiento legionario rumano, 1919-1941*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra, 1989, p. 140.

48 Cfr., Costantini, E., *Nae Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran: antiliberalismo nazionalista alla periferia d'Europa*, Morlacchi Editore, Perugia, 2005, p. 20.

The movement *Action française* arose in France in 1899, created by Maurice Pujo and Henri Vaugeois, as a nationalist reaction to the support of the left-wing intellectual class at the Dreyfus Affair. Soon Charles Maurras became the main ideologist of the movement. Under his influence it assumed a monarchic, counter-revolutionary, anti-democratic connotation and closely linked to Catholic principles. During the First World War it became the main nationalist movement, even if starting from the 1930s it was gradually supplanted by the rise of fascism, also due to the break with the Catholic Church. During the Second World War, the movement supported the Vichy government, led by Marshal Philippe Pétain. After the fall of the latter, the movement broke up, and Maurras was arrested and imprisoned. However, even today his ideas are influential in the French right.

49 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 15.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

51 Take Ionescu was Romanian Foreign Minister in 1920 and Prime Minister in 1921. He often moved to Italy, in fact he died in Rome in 1922. Take Ionesco is the archenemy of Elena Bacaloglu, he is accused by the latter of being a puppet in the hands of Jewish finance, led by Pasic in Romania and Toeplitz in Italy, agents of high finance who according to Bacaloglu had turned the table of European peace. Ionesco, which Bacaloglu defines golden throats, as spokesman of the banks and for high rethorical talents, as a professional lawyer, was tied to the Bank Marmarosch Blanc, and because of this in close contact with the French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau. According to the Romanian writer, they were planning a massive penetration of France into the socio-economic fabric of Romania, betraying the agreements of the Paris Conference. Cfr., *ibid.*, p. 51.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

53 Sometimes the ideas expressed by Elena Bacaloglu in her manifesto, regarding the mystical and religious aspect of the fascist movement, seem

close to the concept of Theosophy, an esoteric movement created in 1875 in New York by a Russian woman Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and her friend Henry Steele Olcott. The movement presented itself as once universal religion essential truth, whose purpose was to lead people to join the universal brotherhood. Today some notions of this movement could be found in the New Age movement.

54 The reference is to the Capitoline Wolf. And then to the Roman Empire. Romania was the last Eastern conquest of the Empire, led by Trajan. The Trajan column, which stands imposing in Imperial forums street in Rome, is the symbol of the ancient Dacia conquest and tells, carved, the story of the birth of Romania, the Eastern last frontier of Latin Empire.

55 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, pp. 78-79.

56 Cfr., Mussolini, B., "Caratteri e compiti dell'Accademia d'Italia nella relazione del Primo ministro", in *La Tribuna*, 4 April, 1926, p. 1.

57 Cfr., Gennaro, R., "Il Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti e l'espansione culturale all'estero", in *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*, XVII, 1, 2013, p. 81. For further information we recommend Giuseppe Ungaretti, "For cultural expansion abroad", published in three sections on *Il Mattino* from Napoli, between October and December 1926, and today in Id., 1997, *Fantastic Philosophy. Prose of meditation and intervention (1926-1929)*, UTET, Torino, pp. 72-80.

58 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 12.

59 Ibid., p. 13.

60 Ivi.

61 Ibid., p. 14.

62 Ibid., p. 141.

63 Ibid.,

64 To learn more about the role of the Italian woman in fascism we suggest reading, De Cespedes, A., *Nessuno torna indietro*, Mondadori, Milano, 1938.

65 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 80.

66 Dora d'Istria, born Elena Ghica, was a Romanian Romantic writer and feminist of Albanian origins. She was born in Bucharest in 1828, from the Albanian family of princes. She studied in Suisse, Germany and in Russia and she travelled a lot in Europe and Asia, working towards the emancipation of her gender. Finally, she moved in Italy and she lived in a villa in Florence in Leonardo da Vinci street, where she died in 1888.

To know about her life and works, look at, D'Alessandri, A., *Il pensiero e l'opera di Dora d'Istria fra Oriente europeo e Italia*, Roma, Gangemi, Roma, 2007.

67 Cfr., Bucur, op. cit., 2003, pp. 57-60.

68 Cfr. Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 81.

69 Ibid. p. 83.

70 Ibid., 136.

71 Ibid., p. 137.

During the fascism in Italy rose a series of magazines for women, we remember *La piccola italiana*, *Il giornale della Donna* who became *Donna Fascista* in 1935, *Cordelia*, *La Donna* on which also wrote Sibilla Aleramo and Matilde Serao and also fashion magazines, such as *Moda* and *Lidel*, this last founded by Lydia de Liguoro and on which wrote Margherita Sarfatti but also Grazia Deledda, Luigi Pirandello. Elena Bacaloglu turns against these magazines, because according to her they betrayed the fascist ideal of the new woman, who essentially therefore lives in her and in her *Manifesto nazionale fascista italo-romeno*.

To know more about these magazines for women and by woman during the fascism see also: Turrini, E., "L'Almanacco della donna italiana: uno sguardo al femminile nel ventennio fascista", in *Storia e Futuro*, 46, March 2018, p. 4.

72 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 137.

73 Ibid., p. 138.

74 Ibid., p. 84.

75 Ivi.

76 On the same day that the Italian government donated to the city of Cluj, and to other cities like Bucharest, Chişinau, Timișoara and Târgu Mureș, a copy of the statue of the Capitoline Wolf, to symbolize the unity of Romanians from all over the country with their latinity. And on the same day, Elena Bacaloglu gave a speech of panlatina union right in front of "the *Lupa* and for the *Lupa*".

Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 127.

77 The constitution of the Italian-Romanian National Movement in Romania was signed by Elena Bacaloglu; Sextil Pușcariu, first Dean of the University of Cluj and member of the Romanian Academy; Di Călugăreanu, Chancellor of the University of Cluj for the year 1921-1922; Adriano Ostrogovich, Italian, Dean of the Faculty of Science of the University of Cluj; Vasile Bogrea, professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Cluj and member of the Romanian Academy; Alexandru Lapedatu, dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Cluj; D.P. Voitești, professor of the Faculty of Sciences; Marin Ștefănescu, professor of Philosophy at the University of Cluj; Ion Agârbiceanu, writer and editor of the newspaper *La Patria*, official organ of the Transylvanian National Party; N. Banescu, professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Cluj and member of the Romanian Academy; Iosif Papovici, University professor; Romul Boila, professor of constitutional law at the University of Cluj; G. Iahoda, industrial; Gheorghe Bacaloglu, artillery colonel, former prefect, founder and director of the *Great Transylvanian Culture Meeting* and *Cele Trei Crișuri* magazine. The list of names is faithfully reported from the deed of incorporation of the movement. Cfr., *ibid.*, p. 85.

78 The two terms were added during the session, the movement became, therefore, the Italo-Romanian economic and cultural National-Fascist Movement. Cfr., *ibid.*, p. 88.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

81 Gentile choosed on the same date to announce the “Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti di tutte le nazioni”. The symbolic reference to Roman Empire, to its greatness and to the Latin pride, is perspicuous.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

83 The letters date back to 1918. Both intellectuals will then move away from the fascist movement led by Benito Mussolini.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

At the National Library of Romanian Academy there is kept a document in which Benedetto Croce as Minister of Education (1920-1921) certified the allocation of funding for the payment of the fee to the boarding school in Naples of Elena Bacaloglu's child.

Cfr., *Scrisoare: Elena Bacaloglu – Benedetto Croce, 1910-1920*, Biblioteca Academiei, 21 agosto 1920.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

90 Elena Bacaloglu had become, during the years of the Great War, a protected of the general, when her activity in Italy met the association “Latina Gens”, whose purpose was to unite all the Latin peoples of the world, creating a Latin Federation of the States. Cfr. Tomi R., “Italieni în slujba Marii Uniri. Mărturii inedite”, in *Revista Istorică*, 3-4, 2010, pp. 280-282.

General Cadorna and Italian Foreign Minister Sidney Sonnino also took part in this organization. Cfr., Epure, N., “Relațiile româno-italiene de la sfârșitul Primului Război Mondial la Marșul asupra Romei (noiembrie 1918 – octombrie 1922). Geneza unor contradicții de lungă durată”, in *Analele UCDC - Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University*, seria Istorie, 1, I, 2010, pp. 112–117.

Elena Bacaloglu participated in the war in northern Italy, alongside General Cadorna, trying to bring the cause of Romanian latinity among the fighting troops, but following the defeat of Caporetto she was forced to take refuge in Genoa. Here she participated in the creation of the “Romanian Legion in Italy”. According to Victor Babeș: “Elena Bacaloglu was the largest propagandist of Romania abroad, and particularly in Italy”. Cfr., V., *Răspuns rostit de D-I Prof. Dr. Victor Babeș, in Bacaloglu, G., “Ardealul ca izvor cultural: Discurs de recepțiune rostit la Ateneul Român”, in Cele Trei Crișuri*, 10, 1 June, 1924, p. 12.

Here, the work *La Romania* had a resounding success in sales, 2,000 copies were sold, as can be deduced from a letter written by Doudelet on 30 June 1917 to Bacaloglu in order to establish the regulation of design rights. Cfr., Bacaloglu, 1923, op. cit., p. 40.

In fact, the authors had problems with the publisher, Ettore Cozzani, for the division of revenue and for the artistic property of the work. Even General Cadorna had to intervene in the dispute between the authors and the editor of the magazine *Eroica*, sending a letter to the Member of the Parliament Ubaldo Comandini, president of the federated works for internal propaganda. Ibidem, p. 33.

91 In Italy she used to spend her time in Fascio's apartments or in hotel paid by fascist government, like highlighted in a letter that she wrote to the Duce: "I am in Milan, in this same hotel where I am now e this time with your budget, from the Italian State, officially, that Maffeo Pantaleoni gave me like a principle of demand of my 100.000 spent with the cause of defense of my sacrosanct work and with national and international struggles unleashed around; now in short as a principle of national justice and ideal that I want whole – Whole – do you understand? whole and above all spontaneously from You the *Latin Chief*, *The Roman Chief*, *my only Chief*, *Pupil and Master*".

Ibid., p. 136.

92 Ibid., p. 123.

93 Ibid., p. 109.

94 Cfr., Lantini, F., "Un sopruso poliziesco in danno della signora Elena Bacaloglu", in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 25 May, 1922, p. 3, in Ibid., pp. 109-111.

95 Ibid., p. 105.

96 Ibid., p. 138.

97 The news is reported in the "Buletin Politic" of the daily *Vestul României*, 1, 32, 4 October 1923, p. 3 (available on internet). And from the first page of the weekly *Clujul*, with the title "Martirul Rosenthal", 1, 31, November 4, 1923, p. 1 (available on internet).

98 Cfr., Payne, S.G., 1995, *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1995, p. 135.

99 Cfr., Bacaloglu, op. cit., 1923, p. 139.

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